

Familiar and unfamiliar names of Mount Fuji¹

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Kikishi yori mo | Omoishi yori mo | Mishi yori mo | Noborite takaki | Yama wa Fuji no ne.

Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1669–1736)

“The mountain which I found higher to climb than I had heard, than I had thought,
than I had seen, – was Fuji’s peak.” (Chamberlain 1905: 191)

1. In writing (and from an etymological point of view)

The modern Standard Japanese name of the mountain in question is *Fuji* [ɸɯʹdʑi], written 富士, and it is usually provided with *-san* 山, the Sino-Japanese suffix for oronyms, i.e. *Fuji-san* [ɸɯʹdʑisan] (exceptionally also with *-gan* 巖 (= 巖), i.e. *Fuji-gan*, cf. Morohashi 1994: III, 3333). It goes back to an earlier form of *Fuzi* /ɸuzi/, Old Japanese *Puzi* /puzi/. Other names (like *Fugaku*) and related phrases (e.g. *Fuji no yama*) found in Japanese literature are now poetic or obsolete and will be discussed later on in this article. A river flowing southwards around the

¹ This article was first presented in Polish (*Znane i nieznane określenia góry Fudzi*) on 21 March 2012 as a part of the lecture series “Fuji-san and Fuji-yama. Narrations on Japan” (*Fuji-san i Fuji-yama. Narracje o Japonii*) organised by the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology and the Jagiellonian University’s Department of Japanology and Sinology. It was also delivered in German (*Bekannte und unbekannte Bezeichnungen des Berges Fuji*) as a guest lecture at the Faculty of East Asian Studies, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, on 9 July 2012.

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western foot of Mt Fuji (128 km in length, one of the “three most rapid currents of Japan”, *Nihon san (dai)kyūryū* 日本三(大)急流) bears the same name, but is provided with the hydronymic suffix *-kawa/-gawa* 川, thus *Fuji-kawa* or *Fuji-gawa*. Moreover, a nearby town is also called *Fuji* (*Fuji-shi* 富士市).

This name appears as early as the beginning of the eighth century, and already then it was consistently written by means of phonograms (Chinese characters used exclusively for their phonetic value, cf. Majteczak 2011), which clearly indicates that the meaning of this word was not – or perhaps just no longer – understood. Indeed, these notations might be interpreted as conveying some kind of sense, even though sometimes not of the highest order, but treating them this way would not be justified. Here is the list of the Old Japanese spellings (based mainly on Igarashi 1969: 123, and NKD: IX, 357; the literal translations along with their appraisals are by the present author):

1. 不盡 (= 不尽) (*Nihongi*: 24. Kōgyoku-3 #IV.222=495;² *Man'yō*: 3: 317 #I.202 &c) = OJ *pu + zi* (EMC **puw*_A | *pət*, *put*_B | *puw*_C + **dzin*' > LMC **fjyw/fiw*_A | *put*_B | *fjyw*'/*fiw*_C + **tshin*' > ModC *fōu*_A | *bū*_B | *fōu*_C + *jīn*) – cf. ModC *bujin* 不盡 ‘inexhaustible, endless; incomplete, not quite; (at the end of a letter) there are many more things to be said which must be taken for granted’ (not quite senseless)
2. 福慈 (*Fudoki*: Hitachi-Tsukuha #38–41) = OJ *pu + zi* (EMC **puwk* + **dzi/dzi* > ModC *fū + ci*) lit. ‘happiness and affection’ (very nice indeed)
3. 富士 (three *mokkan* 木簡, or wooden tablets, from the Heijō Palace 平城宮 in Nara, dated the tenth month of the seventh year of the Tempyō 天平 era [i.e., 735]; see *Heijōkyū* 22: 23, upper column; cf. also Mokkan DB) = OJ *pu + zi* (EMC **puw*^h + **dzi*'/*dzi*' > ModC *fū + shi*) lit. ‘wealthy scholar/soldier’ (cf. Morohashi 1994: III, 3333:

² The “Chronicles of Japan” (*Nihon shoki* = *Nihongi* 日本(書)紀, 720) seem to contain the earliest easily datable attestation of the name. It is mentioned there under the autumn of 644 (= the third year of the reign of Empress Kōgyoku 皇極, No. 35) and it refers to the river, not to the mountain. For the whole story related in this entry, see Naumann / Naumann 2009: 33–34. – Of approximately the same age is the attestation from the “Records of customs and land of Hitachi” (*Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸國風土記, ca 720?), where already the mountain is at issue (see immediately below).

“土を富ませる”) or ‘abundant scholars/soldiers’ (bizarre at first glance, but see more on that below)

4. 布士 (*Man'yō*: 3: 317 #I.202, 3: 321 #I.204) = OJ *pu* + *zi* (EMC **pɔʰ* + **dzi* / **dzi* > ModC *bù* + *shi*) lit. ‘cloth scholar/soldier’ (rather absurd) or ‘spread/arranged/deployed scholars, or soldiers’ (strange, to say the least)
5. 布仕 (*Man'yō*: 11: 2697 #III.75) = OJ *pu* + *zi* (EMC **pɔʰ* + **dzi* / **dzi* > ModC *bù* + *shi*) lit. ‘cloth servant/official’ (equally absurd as above) or ‘spread/arranged/posted servants, or officials’ (again, strange)
6. 不自 (*Man'yō*: 14: 3355 #III.243) = OJ *pu* + *zi* (EMC **puw*_A | *pət*, *put*_B | *puw*_C + **dzi*^h > ModC *fōu*_A | *bū*_B | *fōu*_C + *zi*) lit. ‘not (by) one-self, not personally’ (nonsensical)
7. 布時 (*Man'yō*: 14: 3357 #III.243) = OJ *pu* + *zi* (EMC **pɔʰ* + **dzi* / **dzi* > ModC *bù* + *shi*) lit. ‘cloth time’ or ‘when one spreads’ or the like (all absurd)
8. 布自 (*Man'yō*: 14: 3358 #III.244) = OJ *pu* + *zi* (EMC **pɔʰ* + **dzi*^h > ModC *bù* + *zi*) lit. ‘cloth self’ or ‘to spread (starting) from’ (absurd beyond measure).

To these were somewhat later added the following three (cf. NKD: IX, 357; Benesse KJ: 1055–1056; Chamberlain 1905: 193):

9. 浮志 = SJ *fū* + *shi* (< *si*) lit. ‘frivolous aspirations’ (rather odd as for a place name, but otherwise quite interesting)
10. 不二 = SJ *fū* + *ni/ji* (< *ni/zi*) – cf. ModC *bùèr* 不二 ‘(one and) only, sole; indivisible, whole; unchanging, constant; unique, inimitable; the best’ (very fitting indeed)
11. 不死 = SJ *fū* + *shi* (< *si*) – cf. ModC *bùsǐ* 不死 ‘immortal(ity); *Buddh.* nirvana’ (rather implied than explicit spelling; see the quotation from the *Taketori monogatari* below).

Of those all, 不盡 (= 不尽) ‘endless’ and 不二 ‘one and only, unique’ were particularly favoured in centuries to come as they corresponded well with the universal esteem for this highest of the Japanese mountains. They often appear in literary works to lend the name an additional tinge, for which the following two haiku can be adduced as quite representative examples (Żulawska-Umeda 2010):

Uejima Onitsura 上島鬼貫 (1661–1738), 1690:

によつぽりと秋の空なる不尽の山 *Nyoppori to | aki no sora naru | Fuzi no yama*

‘The (endless) mountain of Fuji, all of a sudden in the autumn sky || (Nieskończona) góra Fudzi, znienacka na jesiennym niebie’ (cf. Żuławska-Umeda 2010: 151: “Strzeliście | z jesiennym jedna się niebem | niedosiężna Fuji”)³

Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763–1827), 1812:

夕不二に尻を並べてなく蛙 *Yufu Fuzi ni | siri wo narabete | naku kafadu*

‘A frog that is croaking having put its rump beside the (unique) evening Fuji || Żaba, która rechocze tyłek ustawivszy obok (niepowtarzalnej) wieczornej Fudzi’ (cf. Żuławska-Umeda 2010: 96: “Wieczór – szczyt Fuji | tuż obok mały tyłek | krzykliwej żaby”)

The modern usage, however, has established as the standard orthography the more mundane 富士 ‘rich (in) scholars/soldiers’, which has been in frequent use since as early as the “Chronicles of Japan continued” (*Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀) of 797 (see *Taketori*: 56/4).

Such a consistent phonetic mode of spelling this name since the earliest times can only be explained in two ways. Either the word is native but its original meaning had long been forgotten, which means that not much more is to be said about it. Or, the name is of foreign origin, in which case its source can be sought in the Ainu language and hardly anywhere else. Here is what Basil Hall Chamberlain (1905: 193) has to say on the matter:

Probably *Fuji* is not Japanese at all. It might be a corruption of *Huchi*, or *Fuchi*, the Aino name of the Goddess of Fire; for down to times almost historical the country round Fuji formed part of Aino-land, and all Eastern Japan is strewn with names of Aino origin. We, how-

³ In the present article Modern Japanese is transcribed according to the Hepburn system, and for the earlier stages of the language an interpreting transliteration of the historical spelling (*rekishiteki kanazukai* 歴史的假名遣い) is used. All English and Polish translations of textual examples given in single quotation marks are by the present author, while those in double ones are taken from authors named in brackets.

ever, prefer the suggestion of Mr. Nagata Hōsei [永田方正, 1844–1911], the most learned of living Japanese authorities on Aino, who would derive *Fuji* from the Aino verb *push*, “to burst forth,” – an appellation which might have been appropriately given either to the mountain itself as a volcano, or more probably still to the chief river flowing down from it, the dangerous *Fujikawa*; for the general Aino practice is to leave even conspicuous mountains unnamed, but carefully to name all the rivers. The letter-changes from Aino *push* to classical *Fuzi* are according to Japanese rule, whereas the change from *Huchi* to *Fuzi* would be abnormal. The very circumstance, too, of the former etymology appealing less to the imagination is really in its favour.

The explanation “more appealing to the imagination” has here been rightly rejected, for the Ainu word *huchi* means rather ‘grandmother; old woman; female ancestor’, and thus it fits neither semantically nor phonetically. The Ainu Goddess of Fire is known under several competing appellations, namely

Abe-kamui (Batchelor 1905: I, 5), *Abe-huchi* (Batchelor 1905: I, 316),
Ape-hūci kamuy (Tamura 1998: 17),
Iresu-huchi (Batchelor 1905: I, 183), *Iresu-kamui* (Batchelor 1905: I, 5),
Kamui-huchi (Batchelor 1905: I, 206), *Kamuy-hūci* (Tamura 1998: 271), *Kamuyuci* (Tamura 1998: 273),
Onne-huchi (Batchelor 1905: I, 316; Tamura 1998: 471, has only *on-nehuci* ‘old woman (polite)’)

and

Unchi-kamui (Batchelor 1905: I, 5), ‘*unci*’ ‘*ahci*’ (Hattori 1981: 172: Raichishka dialect),

of which only the first and the last contain an unquestionable word for ‘fire’: *abe* ~ *api* (Batchelor 1905: I, 5) || *ape* (Tamura 1998: 17) or *unchi* (Batchelor 1905: I, 477) || ‘*unci*’ (Hattori 1981: 105),⁴ while the rest apparently refers to other qualities of the goddess: *iresu* ‘to bring up; to sustain’ (Batchelor 1905: I, 183) || ‘to raise, to bring up children’ (Tamura 1998: 244) and *onne* ‘old; prized; valued; aged; ancient’ (Batchelor

⁴ Both are attested in various Ainu dialects, hence reconstructible for the Proto-Ainu phase: **apE* ‘fire’ (Vovin 1993: 79) and **unti* ‘fire’ (Vovin 1993: 151).

1905: I, 316) || ‘to age, to grow/be old; (*of mushrooms*) to be overripe; to die of old age’ (Tamura 1998: 471). The two recurring elements are *kamui* ‘god; bear; a title applied to anything great, good, important, honourable, bad, fierce or awful, hence used of animals and men, gods and devils’ (Batchelor 1905: I, 205) || *kamuy* ‘god; divine, godlike, splendid, magnificent; bear’ (Tamura 1998: 270–271) and *huchi* ~ *huji* ‘grandmother; old woman; female ancestor’ (Batchelor 1905: I, 157) || *hūci* ‘id.’ (Tamura 1998: 207); *ahci* is also ‘old woman (60–80 years of age); grandmother’ in the Sakhalin dialect of Raichishka (Hattori 1981: 36, 38). The additional meaning ‘fire’ given for *huchi* by J. Batchelor (1905: I, 157; cf. also p. 133: “*Fuchi* or *Huchi*, フチ, フチ, 火. *n.* Fire. Syn [= partly synonymous words]: *Abe. Unchi. Fuji.*” and p. 477: “*Unchi*, ウンチ, 火. *n.* Fire. Also called *Unji, Abe; Huchi; Fuji.*”), and only by him, would seem to have falsely been abstracted from *Kamui-huchi*, lit. ‘divine female ancestor’ rather than *‘divine fire’ (note also that *Abe-huchi*, lit. ‘fiery female ancestor’, would make little sense as *‘fiery fire’) – were it not for the phrase *huchi-kema* ‘fire-brand’ (Batchelor 1905: I, 157; cf. also p. 477: *unchi-kema* ‘fire-brand’), which advises caution.

Nevertheless, even if one accepts some Ainu *huchi* (vel sim.) ‘fire’ (Vovin 1993: 90, reconstructs only Proto-Ainu **gurti* ‘old woman; grandmother’), this would have to be reflected in Old Japanese with the initial **k-* (never *p-*!) and probably also with the final **-ti* or **-di* (if from Proto-Ainu **-ti*; but *-sil-zi* if from Ainu *-chi*) – which is more than enough to give no credit to such an etymology of OJ *Puzi*, however “appealing” it might seem (see further Chamberlain 1887: 73, on various place names containing Japanese *fuji* < *fudi* which should correspond to Ainu *pitchi*).

The alternative solution, i.e. Ainu *push* ‘to jump as burning wood; to burst as a volcano; to go off as a gun; to snap as a spring; to click’ (Batchelor 1905: I, 358) || *pūs* [puɛ] ‘to burst (open), to explode, to blow up, to erupt, (*of sparks*) to fly’ (Tamura 1998: 549; absent from Vovin 1993), sounds far more convincing, and this is so regardless of whether the name referred first to the river or to the mountain. The formal correspondence between Ainu *push* and Old Japanese *Puzi* would be impeccable too (cf. e.g. the place names quoted in Chamberlain 1887: 50: Japanese *Fuyujima* (village) 冬嶋 = Ainu *Puishuma* ‘a rock with a cavern’; p. 56: Japanese *Usujiri* (village) 臼尻 = Ainu *Ush-shiri* ‘the land at the

head of the bay’, although these may well be very recent Japanese renderings). – The greatest problem, however, while appraising any Ainu etymology of the name *Fuji* is the large time gap between Old Japanese and Proto-Ainu. The form *Puzi* was first recorded in the early eighth century and it thus predates any possible reconstruction of Proto-Ainu by some several hundred years – and any attested variety of Ainu by almost a millennium.⁵

As a marginal note it may be worth adding that the appellation of Mt Fuji, whatever its origin, has no connection to the plant name *fuji* 藤 [ɸuɰˈdʒi] ‘Japanese wisteria’,⁶ whose original form (CJ *fudi* < OJ *pudi*) was different phonetically. Moreover, several pseudo-etymologies to be met with in earlier literature (cf. NKD: IX, 357) are here passed over in silence as absolutely fantastical and not deserving any comment, still less – further distribution.

2. In Europe

The name of Mt Fuji has been borrowed into English in a phonetic and orthographic form which attempts to imitate the original pronunciation as closely as is allowed by its sound system, namely as *Fuji* [ˈfuːdʒi] ~ *Fujiyama* [ˌfuːdʒiˈjɑːmə]. It was later adopted by other European languages with indispensable phonetic changes only, and usually with the English spelling *Fuji*; this holds true for (in alphabetical order): Catalan, Croat, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, French, Galician, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and so on and so forth.⁷

⁵ For his valuable selfless help with the Ainu material many thanks are due to José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente (Vitoria / Barcelona).

⁶ *Fuji* 藤 (English: *Japanese wisteria* [wiˈstɔəriə] / *wistaria* [wiˈstɛəriə]; Latin: *Wisteria/Wistaria floribunda* DC.; Polish: *ślodlin japoński, glicynia japońska, wistaria/wisteria, akacja biała*) – a climbing shrub with hanging clusters of pale purple or white flowers, an ornamental widely grown on pergolas, endemic to Japan.

⁷ The material for this section has mainly been collected from the different language editions of *Wikipedia* ([<http://www.wikipedia.org>], all retrieved on 7 March 2012), and therefore it may sometimes reflect not the recommended versions but rather common (or better, Internet) usage.

Few of the European languages have decided to adjust the orthography to their own rules, the resulting form being either exclusive or used side by side with the English one; the exception are of course languages using a script other than the Roman alphabet:

- German *Fudschijama* ~ *Fujiyama* [fudʒi'ja(:)ma] ~ *Fuji*, Dutch *Foedji* ~ *Fuji* ~ *Fujiyama*
- Czech, Slovak, Bosnian *Fudži*, Serbian *Fudži* ~ *Fudžijama*, Serbo-Croat *Fudži* ~ *Fudžijama* ~ *Fuji*
- Lithuanian *Fudži* ~ *Fudzijama*, Latvian *Fudzi*
- Albanian *Fuxhi*
- Hungarian *Fudzsi*
- Latin *Fusius*, Esperanto *Fuĵi-monto*
- Russian *Фуџи* ~ *Фуџияма*, Ukrainian *Фуџи*, Belorussian *Фуџи* ~ *Фуџияма*, Bulgarian *Фуџи*
- Greek *Φούτζι* ~ *Φοντζι-γιάμα*.

In the past, spellings based on other orthographic systems were also in use, but over the course of time they have been supplanted by the English one. To quote just a few examples: In the 1592 Amakusa 天草 edition of *Feiqe no monogatari*, “The tale of the Heike” (or, “... of the Taira family”), the river and the mountain are called *Fuji* or *fui* on ten occasions, and twice – *Fugi* (the latter is an obvious misspelling, violating the orthographic rules of the Portuguese missionaries who published the book).⁸ On the other hand, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), an Italian and visitor to the Jesuit missions in the Orient, in his *Del Principio, y Progreso de la Religion Christiana en Jappon* of 1601 noted down the name of the mountain as *Fugi-no-yama* (Cooper 1981: 18); this variant was some time later distorted beyond recognition in the *Descriptio Regni Japoniae* published in 1649 by a German scholar, Bernhard Varen (1622–1650?), namely to *Figenojama* (Varenius 1974: 208/39). Finally, Julius Heinrich von Klaproth (1783–1835), a German orientalist

⁸ Here is the list of all occurrences (the numbers refer to the page and line of the original edition): 149/10 (*Fujigaua*), 150/2 (*Fujigaua*), 152/5–6 (*Fuji no coxi* ‘lower part, base’), 152/15 (*Fujigaua*), 152/24 (*Fuji no numa* ‘marsh’), 154/15 (*Fujigaua*), 154/17 (*fujigaua* [sic]), 154/19 (*Fujigaua*), 300/11 (*Fujino fufoni* ‘foot’), 361/3 (*Fujinone* ‘summit’), 361/5 (*Fuginoneno* [sic] ‘summit’), 388/6 (*Fugigaua* [sic]). – Based on Okajima, collated with Shima 1967.

and explorer, in the French translation of the *Nippon ōdai ichiran* 日本王代一覽 “Annales des empereurs du Japon” transcribed the name in the form of *Fousi* or *Fousi-no yama* (Klaproth 1834: 5 et passim), having most probably the notation フシ(ノヤマ) at his disposal (see Klaproth 1834, VI–VII), i.e. one in which the voicedness was – as was then customary – left unmarked (cf. also Chamberlain 1905: 193: *Fusiyama*).

One rather common blunder in Europe (in fact so common that even for this reason alone it could already gain acceptance) is to call the mountain *Fuji-yama* vel sim., i.e. by a name that does not seem to exist in Japanese. The cause for this may be threefold:

- erroneous reading of the written form 富士山, where the final character 山 could (but only theoretically) be read either as *yama* (native Japanese word for ‘mountain’) or as *san* (a borrowing from Chinese, LMC **sa:n* > ModC *shān*; used in compounds only), despite the fact that the Japanese exclusively use the latter here (it must, however, be admitted that *yama* is used as a suffix in some oronyms too, e.g. the nearby *Hakone-yama* 箱根山, but it is complementary to, and not interchangeable with *san*),
- confusion between two varieties of the name: the more prosaic *Fuji-san* ‘Mt Fuji’ and the poetic *Fuji no yama* ‘the mountain of Fuji’; the latter phrase, *Fuji no yama* 富士の山, might also be written in Japanese without *no* の,⁹ thus resulting in a graphical form identical to *Fuji-san* 富士山 (cf. Klaproth 1834: 5/2: “山士富 [sic] *Fousi-no yama* (Fou szu chan [= ModC *Fùshishān*])”),
- unfounded fear that *Fuji-san* might be understood as containing a different but homophonic suffix used after personal names, which would then result in some *Mr* or *Mrs Fuji* (the homophony is obvious to the Japanese as well, since they sometimes jocularly exchange the final *-san* for the more polite, and hence more appropriate with reference to a mountain of such importance, personal suffix *-sama*).

Curiously enough, the combination *Fuji-yama* is attested in European sources as early as 1727, the date of the posthumously published

⁹ Today this spelling peculiarity is still characteristic of some proper nouns, see e.g. surnames like *Kinoshita* 木下 (spelt: *ki* + *shita*) or *Inoue* 井上 (spelt: *i* + *ue*).

English translation of the description of Japan by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), where it appears at least several times: *Fufi Jamma* (Kämpfer 1727: I, 232), *Fufijamma* (II, 490), *Fudfi*, or *Fufij Jamma* (II, 508–509) – but side by side with *Fufino Jama* (II, 501) and *Fufino Jamma* (II, 510 – twice; II, 511).¹⁰ Even more astonishing is its occurrence in a Japanese-Korean glossary of the 1780s, namely in the *Waeö yuhae* / *Waye 'yuhay* (Japanese *Wago ruikai*¹¹) 倭語類解 (왜어유해) “Classified explanation of the Japanese language”: 후△야마 又云 후△산 ‘*Huziyama* vel *Huzisan*’ (WY: II, 53v^o [edition p. 218]). This makes one doubt altogether whether *Fuji-yama* should really be condemned.

It seems worth noting that in recent years the form has even found its way to Japanese dictionaries – it is for example recorded in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (NKD: IX, 363, s.v. *Fuji-san*) and in the *Daijisen* (s.v. *Fuji-san*), although it has yet to deserve a separate entry. – Furthermore, there is also the Japanese surname *Fujiyama* 藤山, but its first component is not the name of the mountain, but of the plant ‘Japanese wisteria’ (older *fudi* < *pudi*), so it can literally be translated as ‘wisteria mountain’ or ‘wisteria hill’.

3. In Poland

As for Polish, it has followed the lead of other European languages and adopted the English version *Fuji*, yet in a graphically transformed shape of *Fudzi* [ˈfudʑi] (thus in a way similar to, for instance, Czech or Slovak). Interestingly enough, however, Polish is one of those few languages which can reflect the original Japanese pronunciation much more faithfully, namely as *Fudzi* [ˈfudʑi]. Both of these forms, *Fudzi* and *Fudzi*, appear already at the beginning of the twentieth century, e.g. in the works of the Polish “orientalist” writer, Waclaw Sieroszewski (1858?–1945), who arrived in Japan in mid-June 1903 and stayed there for a

¹⁰ To these spellings of *Fuji*, both the mountain and the river, present in Kaempfer’s work, is also to be added the obviously misprinted *Fefi* [sic] (Kämpfer 1727: I, 105).

¹¹ Perhaps earlier pronounced *Wago ruige* (Osterkamp 2009: 203/33). For information on a newly discovered copy of this extremely rare book, see Osterkamp 2010: 317.

short time. The variants present in his works on Japanese subjects are as follows (Kempf 1982: 83, 96, and especially 154):

- *Fudzi* (*Miłość samuraja*, 1926 [= *Miłość ronina*, 1924–1925]), *Fudzi-jama* (*Piąta wystawa powszechna w Japonii*, 1904), *Fudzi-jama* (*O-Sici*, 1909/1910), *Fudzi-no-jama* (*Fudzi-no-jama*, 1923), *Fudzi-san* (*Miłość samuraja*),
- *Fudzi-jama* (*Miłość samuraja*).

The persistent *-dz-* spelling of this name is doubtless to be attributed to Sieroszewski's use of English-language sources, to which he himself confesses, e.g. in the sketch entitled *Wśród kosmatych ludzi* (1926/1927).¹² On the other hand, *Fudzi* must be based directly on what Sieroszewski heard with his own ears in Japan.

The situation has not changed much since the end of the Second World War and both versions can be found in various books, although the English-based one has predominated by far. Thus, in the most widely used encyclopaedia of that time, published in the 1960s, the relevant headword was *Fudzi-jama* (WEP 4: 48), while W. Kopaliński, for instance, preferred the forms *Fudzi(-jama)* and *Fudzisan* (Kopaliński 1985: 300). According to the Commission on the Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland (Komisja Standaryzacji Nazw Geograficznych poza Granicami Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej = KSNG), established by the Surveyor General of Poland, the recommended polonised version of the name is at present *Fudzi* (NGŚ 9: 70), but there are still some publications – notably by specialists in Japanese studies – insisting on the phonetically more justified form *Fudzi* (e.g. Kozyra 2011: 4/1).

4. In classical Japanese literature

Since time immemorial Mt Fuji has been a frequent element of the classical literature in Japan, both in poetry and prose, in the former en-

¹² Cf. the passage quoted by Z. Kempf (1982: 150): “W połowie czerwca 1903 roku znalazłem się w Hakodate [...]. Porozumiewałem się doskonale za pomocą małego angielsko-japońskiego słownika [...]” (‘In mid-June 1903 I found myself in Hakodate. I communicated perfectly with the use of a small English-Japanese dictionary’).

joying of course the status of an *utamakura* 歌枕 ‘poetic pillow’, i.e. a famous place to be celebrated in verse (*Daijirin*: 2250). Its name appears in almost every major work of early Japanese writing, of which the following list is only a very narrow selection (Kōdansha KJ: 762; KD: 1436):

- “Collection of ten thousand leaves” (*Man’yōshū* 萬葉集, soon after 771)
- “The tale of the bamboo cutter” (*Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語, ninth/tenth cent.)
- “Tales of Ise” (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, early tenth cent.)
- “Collection of ancient and modern Japanese poems” (*Kokin waka shū* 古今和歌集, 905–914/920)
- “Later collection of Japanese poems” (*Gosen waka shū* 後撰和歌集, 951–955/958)
- “The gossamer years” (*Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記, ca 970–977) by Fujiwara no Michitsuna no Haha 藤原道綱母
- “Collection of gleanings of Japanese poems” (*Shūi waka shū* 拾遺和歌集, ca 996–1007)
- “The tale of Genji” (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, ca 1004–1011) by Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部
- “The Sarashina diary” (*Sarashina nikki* 更級日記, ca 1060) by Sugawara no Takasue no Musume 菅原孝標女
- “A collection of tales of times now past” (*Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集, eleventh/twelfth cent., 1120?)
- “The narrow road through the provinces” (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道, 1689–1694) by Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉.¹³

The Old and Classical Japanese name *Puzi* > *Fuzi* occurs in texts in four basic meanings: ‘1. Mount Fuji; 2. the River Fuji; 3. a Shinto shrine (now called Sengen Jinja 淺間神社) formerly on the top of Mt Fuji, dedicated, among others, to the goddess *Konohana (no) sakuyahime* (~ -bime) 木花開耶姫 / 木花之佐久夜毘賣 (*lit.* The princess who makes the tree

¹³ From Kōdansha KJ: 762 & XI–XII, it follows that the word is surely absent from:

- “Records of ancient matters” (*Kojiki* 古事記, 712)
- “The pillow book” (*Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, ca 995–1001) by Sei Shōnagon 清少納言
- “Essays in idleness” (*Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, ca 1330–1331) by Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好.

flowers blossom), also called *Sengen* or *Asama*;¹⁴ 4. the Fuji District in the province of Suruga 駿河, most frequently of course in the first one. It is found either by itself or in compound phrases, that is accompanied by some generic term. Here is a fairly comprehensive enumeration of such expressions, which for the sake of simplicity are all transcribed as if they were Classical Japanese (Kōdansha KJ: 762; *Daijirin*: 2250; *Man'yō*: [V], 480; Florenz 1925: 19):

1. *Fuzi no yama* 富士の山 ‘the mountain of Fuji’ (e.g. *Man'yōshū*, *Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, *Kokin waka shū*, *Shūi waka shū*)
2. *Fuzi no ne* 富士の嶺 ‘the peak of Fuji’ (e.g. *Man'yōshū*, *Ise monogatari*, *Kokin waka shū*, *Gosen waka shū*, *Shūi waka shū*)
3. *Fuzi no mine* 富士の峰 ‘the peak of Fuji’ (e.g. *Oku no hosomichi*)
4. *Fuzi no taka-ne* 富士の高嶺 ‘the high peak of Fuji’ (e.g. *Man'yōshū*)
5. *Fuzi-kafa* ~ *Fuzi-gafa* 富士川 ‘the River Fuji’ (e.g. *Man'yōshū*, *Sarashina nikki*)
6. *Fuzi no miya* 富士の宮 ‘the shrine of Fuji’ (e.g. *Korjaku monogatari shū*)
7. *Fuzi-gun* 富士郡 (e.g. the three *mokkan* of 735 quoted above).

In poetry the name of Mt Fuji is frequently involved in various rhetorical figures, of which only the commonest will be mentioned here. First, being a white-topped volcano, it occurs together with such words as *yuki*₁ 雪 ‘snow’, or *ke₂buri* 煙 ‘smoke’ and *mo₁yu* (*mo₁y/e-*) 燃ゆ ‘to burn, to blaze, to glow’ with which it forms verbal associations called *engo* 縁語 (Benesse KJ: 1056). Second, the name provides the setting for some *kakekotoba* 掛詞 ‘pivot words (or, swing doors)’, i.e. a certain kind of word-play based on homophones, as for instance (KD: 1436): *fī* (OJ *pi*₂) 火 ‘fire’ ↔ *omofī* (OJ *omo*_[2]*pi*₁) 思ひ ‘thinking, love, yearning, desire, wish, ...’, or *fī* (OJ *pi*₂) 火 ‘fire’ ↔ *kofī* (OJ *ko*₁*pi*₂) 戀 ‘yearning, longing, love’. The constant, conventional epithet, *makurakotoba* 枕詞 ‘pillow word’, for Mt Fuji is the phrase: *ama no fara* (OJ *ama no*₂ *para*) 天の原 ‘an expanse of sky, the heavens’, which points out the only suitable background for this exceptionally symmetrical cone (Benesse KJ:

¹⁴ For a German translation of the relevant myth as depicted in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, provided with an extensive discussion, see Naumann 2011: 221–233. For a succinct summary thereof, cf. Kozyra 2011: 55–58. The story is also mentioned by Matsuo Bashō in his *Oku no hosomichi* (an early fragment, traditionally titled *Muro no yashima* 室の八嶋).

84, 1115). Somewhat less frequent is another epithet, this time referring to the colour, namely *siro-tafe no* (OJ *siro₁-tape₂ no₂*) 白妙の／白栲の ‘like white cloth (woven of paper-mulberry fibre)’ (Iwanami KJ: 693).

Moving on to prose, two works from the late ninth or early tenth century are especially noteworthy for the information they provide on the name of Mt Fuji and its shape:

“The tale of the bamboo cutter” (*Taketori*: 10. Fuji #55–56):

大臣上達^(かんたちへ)を召^めして、「いづれの山か天に近^{ちか}き」と問^とはせ給ふに、ある人奏^{そう}す、「駿河^{するが}の國にあるなる山なん、この都^{みやこ}も近^{ちか}く、天も近^{ちか}く侍る」と奏^{そう}す^{(そうす)。}これを聞^きかせ給ひて、

逢^(あふ)ことも涙^(なみだ)にうかぶ我^(わが)身^(み)には死^しなぬくすりも何にかはせむ

かの奉^{たてまつ}る不^ふ死^しの薬に、又、壺^{つぼ}具^ぐして、御使^(つかひ)に賜^{たま}はす。勅^(ちよく)使^(し)には、つきのいはかさといふ人を召^めして、駿河^{するが}の國にあなる山の頂^{いたどき}にもてつくべきよし仰^(せ)給。嶺^{みね}にてすべきやう教^{をし}へさせ給。御文^{ふみ}、不^ふ死^しの薬の壺^{つぼ}ならべて、火をつけて燃^もやすべきよし仰^{おほ}せ給。そのよしうけたまはりて、つはものどもあまた具^ぐして山へ登^{のぼ}りけるよりなん、その山を「ふじの山」とは名づけゝる。その煙^けふり、いまだ雲のなかへたち上^{のぼ}るとぞ、言いひ傳^{つた}へたる。

“Later, the Emperor summoned his ministers and great nobles and asked them which mountain was closest to Heaven. One man replied, ‘The mountain in the province of Suruga. It is near both to the capital and to Heaven.’ The Emperor thereupon wrote the poem:

What use is it, this elixir of immortality, to one who floats in tears because he cannot meet her again?

He gave the poem and the jar containing the elixir to a messenger with the command that he take them to the summit of the mountain in Suruga. He directed that the letter and the jar be placed side by side, set on fire, and allowed to be consumed in the flames. The men, obeying this command, climbed the mountain, taking with them a great many soldiers. Ever since they burnt the elixir of immortality on the summit, people have called the mountain by the name Fuji, meaning immortal. Even now the smoke is still said to rise into the clouds.” (Keene 2002: 141–145; see also Naumann / Naumann 2009: 90)

‘Kiedy [cesarz] wezwał ministrów i dostojników dworskich i spytał: „Która góra jest blisko nieba?”, odezwał się pewien człowiek. Rzekł: „Góra znajdująca się ponoć w prowincji Suruga [= ob. środkowa część pref. Shizuoka 静岡] jest blisko i tej stolicy, i nieba jest blisko.” Usłyszawszy to, [cesarz wyrecytował]:

Na cóż eliksir nieśmiertelności mnie, który się we łzach rozplywam, bo nie będzie już spotkań naszych?

Do owego podarowanego eliksiru nieśmiertelności dołączył jeszcze dzban i przekazał sługom. Jako cesarskiego posłańca przywołał człowieka zwanego Tsuki no Iwakasa [= Księżycy Skalna Poświęta/Wyniosłość?] i nakazał mu, by zaniósł to na wierzchołek góry znajdującej się ponoć w prowincji Suruga. Pouczył go, co ma uczynić na szczycie. Nakazał ułożyć obok siebie list i dzban z eliksirem nieśmiertelności, podłożyć ogień i spalić. Ten, przyjąwszy rozkaz, wspiął się na górę, prowadząc ze sobą wielu żołnierzy, i stąd właśnie górze tej nadano imię Góra Fudzi [to jest: Obfitująca w Żołnierzy (lub: Nieśmiertelna)]. Ów dym nadal wznosi się ku chmurom – tak oto powiadają.’

“Tales of Ise” (*Ise*: 9 #14–15):

富士の山を見れば、五月さつきのつごもりに、雪いと白う降りり。
時知らぬ山は富士の嶺ねいつとてか鹿の子まだらに雪の降るらむ

その山は、こゝにたとへば、比ひ叡ゑの山を二十はたちばかり重ねあげたらむほどして、なりは鹽尻のやうになむありける。

“At Mount Fuji a pure white snow had fallen, even though it was the end of the Fifth Month.*

Fuji is a mountain | That knows no seasons. | What time does it take this for, | That it should be dappled | With fallen snow?

To speak in terms of the mountains hereabout, Mount Fuji is as tall as twenty Mount Hiei’s piled on top of one another.** In shape it resembles a salt-cone.***” (McCullough 1999: 75–76; see also Naumann / Naumann 2009: 96)¹⁵

¹⁵ The notes by H. C. McCullough herself (1999: 204–205) are as follows:

* In the lunar calendar the end of the Fifth Month fell between mid-June and mid-July.

** Mt. Fuji on the Shizuoka-Yamanashi prefectural boundary (old Suruga-Kai border) is Japan’s tallest (3776 m.) as well as its most famous moun-

‘Gdy zobaczyli górę Fudzi, to choć był koniec piątego miesiąca [≈ czerwca/lipca], śnieg padał bieluteńko.

Górę czasu nieznaną jest szczyt Fudzi. Cóż to za pora, by śnieg padał płatkami jak cętki jelonka?

Jeśli tę górę porównać do tutejszych, miałyby taką wysokość, jakby górę Hie [= Hiei] ustawiono dwudziestokroć jedną na drugiej; a jej kształt był niczym kopiec solny.’

It is most interesting to see how the first fragment attempts to rationalise two possible spellings of *Fuji* (*Fuzi* 富士 ‘abundant in soldiers’ and *Fusi* 不死 ‘immortal’) by placing them in the context of the whole story, and thus to give a folk etymology – actually, two etymologies! – of this appellation.

Finally, worthy of mention are other names under which Mt Fuji has occasionally been known in the past. They can be picked out from dictionaries, although it must be remembered that they are all very rare, and either poetic or sophisticated (see particularly KD: 1436, as well as the dictionaries listed below):

1. *Fuhō* (< *Fufoū*) 富峰 (= 富峯) lit. ‘rich peak’ (Morohashi 1994: III, 3335)
2. *Fugaku* (< *Fugakū*) 富嶽 (= 富岳) lit. ‘rich (great) mountain’ (*Daijirin*: 2235; *Daijisen*: s.v.; *Daijiten*: 611–612; Morohashi 1994: III, 3332)
3. *Fukyū* (< *Fukiu*) 富丘 lit. ‘rich hill(ock)’ (*Daijiten*: 611; Morohashi 1994: III, 3333)
4. *Fuyōhō* (< *Fuyōfōū*) 芙蓉峰 (= 芙蓉峯) lit. ‘lotus peak’ (*Daijirin*: 2280; *Daijisen*: s.v.; *Daijiten*: 1865; Morohashi 1994: IX, 9881), or simply *Fuyō* (< *Fuyōū*) 芙蓉 lit. ‘lotus blossom’ (KD: 1456; Morohashi 1994: IX, 9880)

tain. It is not, of course, 20 times as high as Mt. Hiei (848 m.), the most conspicuous peak in the capital area, and, as the site of the great Enryakuji monastery, correspondingly prominent in early Japanese history. Mt Hiei rises northeast of Kyōto on the Kyōto-Shiga prefectural boundary (old Yamashiro-Ōmi border).

****Shiojiri*. The meaning of the word is uncertain, but it is usually explained as a high mound of sand used in producing salt. Sea water is thought to have been poured on such mounds and left to evaporate.

5. *Rempō* (< *Renfoū*) 蓮峰 (= 蓮峯) lit. ‘lotus peak’ (*Daijiten*: 1920; Morohashi 1994: IX, 10214)
6. *Rengaku* (< *Rengak*¹⁶) 蓮嶽 (= 蓮岳) lit. ‘(great) lotus mountain’ (*Daijiten*: 1919–1920; Morohashi 1994: IX, 10211).

It seems that for the origin of these forms the following scenario could be suggested. The first three take the initial syllable of *Fuji* (together with the character 富) and add generic elements to it. So probably does the fourth, but it expands the syllable into a whole word *fuyō* 芙蓉 ‘lotus blossom’ (with obvious aesthetic connotations, for which cf. Morohashi 1994: IX, 9880 & 10211, and *Hachida no hana* below). And the last two replace the initial part of number 4 with another term for ‘lotus’, namely *ren* 蓮 (not used independently), combining it with the same generic elements as above. The morphemes here are, without a single exception, borrowed from Chinese. What is more, some of these names (*Fuyō* 芙蓉, *Fuyōhō* 芙蓉峰, *Rempō* 蓮峰, *Rengaku* 蓮嶽) have also been used to denote certain mountains located in China (see Morohashi 1994, s.vv.).

Last but not least, five names can be adduced which either have a marvellous background or poetically describe the shape of this mountain. All are used primarily with reference to their original meanings, but they may metaphorically denote Mt Fuji as well:

7. *Hōrai(-san)* (< *Foūrai(-san)*) 蓬萊(山) (= 蓬萊(山)) ‘Mount Penglai, one of the five (or three) magical mountains of Chinese legends, situated somewhere in the Eastern Sea (= the *Bōhāi* 渤海 Gulf, or the eastern part of it), where immortals abide; also called the Isle of Eternal Youth’ (*Kōdansha* KJ: 785; *Daijirin*: 2364; *Daijisen*, s.vv.)
8. *Sakuyahime* 咲耶姫 ‘the goddess *Konohana no sakuyabime*, or The princess who makes the tree flowers blossom (see above)’ (NKD: IV, 1369)
9. *Fujitarō* (< *Fuzitarau*) 富士太郎 ‘a *tengu* 天狗 (winged, long-nosed goblin¹⁶) that is believed to live on Mt Fuji’ (Iwanami KJ: 1157; NKD: IX, 364)

¹⁶ For more on *tengu*, see Kozyra 2011: 349–363.

10. *Hachida no hana* (< *Fatⁱda* ...) 八朶の花 ‘a flower of eight petals (octopetalous), lotus blossom’ – because the mountain has eight peaks at the top (NKD: VIII, 999)
11. *Suribachi(-yama)* 搗鉢(山)／摺鉢(山) ‘(Mount) Mortar’ – because it resembles an inverted earthenware mortar (NKD: VI, 532).

Co z tego wszystkiego wynika? Nic, absolutnie nic. Oto wniosek, do którego zmierzałam. – Wisława Szymborska, *Lektury nadobowizkowe*, 1973: 239.

Abbreviations and symbols

- CJ = Classical Japanese (ninth–twelfth century)
 EMC = Early Middle Chinese (according to Pulleyblank 1991)
 LMC = Late Middle Chinese (according to Pulleyblank 1991)
 ModC = Modern Standard Chinese (*pǔtōnghuà* 普通話)
 OJ = Old Japanese (eighth century)
 SJ = Sino-Japanese
 # = the information before the symbol specifies the portion (chapter, poem) of the cited text, while that after the symbol – the page in the edition used herein

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